



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

## Edinburgh Research Explorer

### A game for the global north

**Citation for published version:**

Lee, J-W 2017, 'A game for the global north: The 2018 Winter Olympic Games in Pyeongchang and South Korean cultural politics', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 33, no. 12, pp. 1411-1426.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2017.1280469>

**Digital Object Identifier (DOI):**

[10.1080/09523367.2017.1280469](https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2017.1280469)

**Link:**

[Link to publication record in Edinburgh Research Explorer](#)

**Document Version:**

Peer reviewed version

**Published In:**

The International Journal of the History of Sport

**Publisher Rights Statement:**

This is an Accepted Manuscript of an article published by Taylor & Francis in The International Journal of the History of Sport on 06/03/2017, available online:  
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09523367.2017.1280469>

**General rights**

Copyright for the publications made accessible via the Edinburgh Research Explorer is retained by the author(s) and / or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing these publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

**Take down policy**

The University of Edinburgh has made every reasonable effort to ensure that Edinburgh Research Explorer content complies with UK legislation. If you believe that the public display of this file breaches copyright please contact [openaccess@ed.ac.uk](mailto:openaccess@ed.ac.uk) providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.



A paper to be published in the *International Journal of the History of Sport*

## A Game for the Global North: The 2018 Winter Olympic Games in Pyeongchang and South Korean cultural politics

Jung Woo Lee (University of Edinburgh, UK)

### **ABSTRACT**

The South Korean region of Pyeongchang will host the 2018 Winter Olympic Games. Using Wallerstein's world system theory and Collins' notions of zones of prestige and emulation as a conceptual framework, this article examines the South Korean government's intention to stage the winter sporting spectacle. As the Winter Olympics is arguably considered a game for the relatively affluent global north, South Korea, as a semi-core state, attempts to elevate its position to a global economic and cultural powerhouse through being a host of this winter sports mega-event. However, it should be noted that the Winter Olympic Games is an event through which white supremacy and Western cultural hegemony are continuously reinforced. Therefore, the South Korean ambition to enhance its international standing by staging the Winter Olympic Games paradoxically reflects Western cultural imperialism and Orientalism embedded in South Korean cultural politics associated with the winter sporting contest.

**Keywords:** The Winter Olympics, Pyeongchang, World System, Zones of Prestige, White Supremacy

## **Introduction**

A sports mega-event has become one of the most discussed academic topics in the field of sport studies today. With the notion of globalisation emerging as a major conceptual framework, many social scientists have paid their attention to political, cultural, and economic implications of a global mega sporting event<sup>1</sup>. In terms of global politics, major international competitions such as the Olympic Games or the FIFA World Cup Finals are seen as an effective diplomatic instrument, often linked to the concept of soft power, for enhancing the international reputation of host countries<sup>2</sup>. Also, a range of political activist groups and non-governmental organisations utilise these sporting occasions as a platform to demonstrate their causes to the world audiences<sup>3</sup>. Concerning global culture, a sports mega-event offers dynamic cultural space wherein the interface between globalism and nationalism is actively at work within which various social identities are represented and contested<sup>4</sup>. Moreover, a regular occurrence of international championships has facilitated a global diffusion of modern sport which is arguably the most universal form of global culture<sup>5</sup>. With regard to the global economy, a global sporting spectacle functions as an ideological apparatus that reinforces a neo-liberal sense of global capitalism and consumerism<sup>6</sup>. Additionally, transnational companies also attempt to maximise their business interests by taking part in sport event sponsorship programmes and by implementing advertising campaigns associated with global sporting festivals<sup>7</sup>. These are all indicative of the fact that while sports mega-events are essentially an athletic contest, this sporting dimension alone cannot fully explain their operating mechanisms.

In July 2011, the International Olympic Committee declared that the 2018 Winter Olympic Games will be held in the South Korean region of Pyeongchang. The South Korean media unanimously celebrated the IOC's decision, and this media frame led to a sudden eruption of the mood of joyfulness and triumph in South Korean society<sup>8</sup>. Given that

Pyeongchang had failed the previous two Winter Olympic bids with only minor differences, such a feeling of excitement being emerged in the country can be understandable. The perplexities are the reasons why this relatively humble mountainous district has been so eagerly willing to stage the massive winter sporting spectacle. As indicated above, promotion and performance of winter sports themselves do not provide sufficient explanation for more than a decade of Pyeongchang's Olympic "dream". It is also necessary to take into account of political, cultural, and economic circumstances wherein South Korea is located in order to understand the motivation and rationale behind a series of the uncompromising Winter Olympic bidding campaigns. This study, therefore, is planned to undertake a social scientific and historical inquiry into a South Korean intention to host the Winter Olympic Games. Through this research, it aims at identifying major political goals that the South Korean government tries to achieve by hosting this winter sports mega-event.

This type of research requires a comprehensive examination of the social changes that South Korea has undergone, and of the role that a sports mega-event plays in the process of political and economic development in this country. This paper adopts this holistic approach. As this study is primarily concerned with the Pyeongchang Olympics, it first critically evaluates the socio-cultural meaning of the Winter Olympic Games in general. After this, it will look at the structure of global politics and economy so that the current status of South Korea within the system of the global political economy can be identified. Then, this paper reviews major sports mega-events held in South Korea from the 1986 Summer Asian Games to the 2018 Winter Olympic Games with specific reference to the political and economic environment that affect the organisation of these events. This is followed by an investigation into the Pyeongchang Winter Olympics with the aim of uncovering underlying political and cultural undertone of this winter sport festival. Finally, it offers a critical reading of the South Korean desire of hosting the Winter Olympic.

## **The Winter Olympics: the “white” games?**

The Winter Olympic Games may not be regarded as a so-called first-order sporting event in terms of an economic impact, global media interests, and a number of participating countries<sup>9</sup>. When considering these objective measures, this quadrennial winter sport competition is a smaller scale event in comparison with the Summer Olympic Games and the FIFA World Cup Finals. However, this international contest of snow and ice sports has unique cultural implications. In principle, it is a sporting competition through which Western hegemony and a discourse of white supremacy are continually represented and reproduced<sup>10</sup>. Unlike its summer counterpart where athletes from various parts of the world with diverse cultural and ethnic identities compete for Olympic medals, the Winter Olympic Games is largely dominated by Western white competitors. In the almost hundred years of its history, only six nations such as Russia (the Soviet Union), Germany, Norway, the United States, Austria, and Finland have won nearly two-third of awarded medals at the Winter Olympics<sup>11</sup>. In addition, Olympic medal winners still have predominantly been Caucasian athletes although the presence of East Asian skaters has been recently challenged this almost complete white exclusiveness. With regard to the equity in sport, the paucity of black athletes both in the North American and European national teams and in African and Caribbean countries' delegates is particularly problematic in this winter sport championship<sup>12</sup>.

This overt representation of white athletes from Western countries at the Winter Olympic Games implies the existing practice of racial segregation in this global sporting event. Unequal racial relations in sport are nothing new. Yet, at the Winter Olympic Game, the structural exclusion of non-white athletes appears to be a more taxing problem<sup>13</sup>. It seems that both economic and cultural factors influence these asymmetrical racial differences at the Winter Olympic Games. Obviously, taking part in winter sports such as skiing and

snowboarding requires a significant amount of financial resources, and only relatively small groups of elites in society can afford such sporting luxuries. If this logic is applied to a global context, it can be argued that those in the relatively rich area of the global north which includes mainly North America and Europe have more opportunities to participate in these winter sporting activities. This also means that people in the relatively less developed region of the global south, which encompasses Sub-Saharan Africa, South America and South East Asia, are unlikely to enjoy snow and ice sports. The factors concerning geography and climate may also affect this global north and south division. Yet, as Farhi aptly points out<sup>14</sup>, such differences are mostly related to economic issues given that there are a plenty of snow-covered high mountains in Ethiopia, Nepal, Peru, and Afghanistan. Because equipment, facilities, and training for winter sporting events cost much more than most summer Olympic sports, relatively poor countries in the global south have only a limited chance to partake in the Winter Olympic Games.

At the same time, the Winter Olympics is also a cultural domain in which discourse of white supremacy prevails<sup>15</sup>. It should be noted that both winter and summer editions of the Olympic Games contain Western-centric elements from the outset<sup>16</sup>. However, at the Summer Olympic Games, at least in the sporting fields, Western white hegemony has been increasingly challenged although non-white dominant events such as athletics and basketball are ideologically exploited to construct a false stereotypical image of a specific racial group<sup>17</sup>. At the Winter Olympic Games such a challenge hardly exists. In fact, this winter sporting competition offers one of the few occasions where white elite athletes exclusively display their sporting prowess. As noted earlier, white athletes from the West have won a disproportionately large number of Winter Olympic medals, and some snow sports, particularly snowboarding, are regarded as a culturally exclusive space for the white middle-class youth the consequence of which raises a bar that prevents non-white individuals from

joining this mainstream winter sporting culture<sup>18</sup>. Therefore, it is no surprise to see that when black athletes enter this field of “white” sport, the media tend to pay attention to their peculiar characteristics instead of focusing on their sporting ability and athletic identity as John Turteltaub’s 1993 film *Cool Runnings* being a good example<sup>19</sup>. After all, this winter sporting festival functions as a cultural bastion of white privilege.

These observations suggest that every four years during the winter time relatively affluent North Americans and Europeans hold an exclusive cultural ritual to celebrate the white supremacy so that Western cultural hegemony and privilege are continually reaffirmed. The fact that the most editions of Winter Olympic Games have taken place in the West thus far also underpins the status of the Winter Olympics as the games for the global north<sup>20</sup>. Regarding this, one journalist rightfully wrote that the Olympic winter edition is Westerners’ “expensive sports festival” which glorifies “elitism, exclusion, and the triumph of the world sporting haves over its have-nots”<sup>21</sup>. Recently, a few skaters from South Korea, China, and Japan have begun to list their names on the Olympic medal tables. Moreover, the next two editions of the Winter Olympic Games have been awarded to the South Korean province of Pyeongchang and the Chinese capital city, Beijing. That said, it is legitimate to ask a question that why these East Asian cities, particularly Pyeongchang, had so much desired to win the Winter Olympic bid for more than ten years even if this winter sporting spectacle is mainly a party for the West. The following section attempts to find a clue to this question.

### **The structure of global economy and cultural politics**

In order to understand the motivation behind the South Korean desire to host the Winter Olympic Games, it is important to examine the economic and cultural transformation that the country has undergone since the 1980s. Wallerstein’s world systems theory<sup>22</sup> and Collins’s notion of zones of prestige<sup>23</sup> offer useful conceptual tools for a systematic

investigation of the characteristics of Korean society. The world system theory is mainly concerned with unequal power relations between the nations within the economic structure of the international division of labour<sup>24</sup>. More specifically, it divides the world into three distinctive blocs according to an economic role that each nation plays within the global production network. These are the core, the semi-periphery, and the periphery. In this world system, the core countries are positioned at the centre of the global capitalist market. They accumulate a disproportionately large amount of financial capital, and the major cities within the global core region function as a node of international economic flows<sup>25</sup>. Their economic growth is primarily sustained by the operation and investment in knowledge and information industry. The concentration of the experience and knowledge based technology in the core countries gives rise to the information inequality amongst the three areas in the world system, and this difference results in widening the economic and knowledge gap between them<sup>26</sup>. Such an unequal access to information technology which is the fundamental component of the global economy today brings more power and hegemony to the core in the system of global capitalism<sup>27</sup>. In a geographical term, North America and Western Europe are considered the global core in the world system.

The periphery indicates a comparatively less developed part of the world whose economic growth primarily relies on exporting raw materials<sup>28</sup>. The nature of society in this marginalised area is still largely agricultural and it shows a relatively low level of industrialisation. Because the peripheral countries usually do not have a sustainable means of income generation, their development depends heavily on the trade with the global core countries and the economic assistance from them. This dependency gives rise to the unequal power relations between the core and the periphery. In this circumstance, it is not uncommon to see that the core countries exploit labour forces and natural resources in the periphery in



order to maximise their profit<sup>29</sup>. The most nations in sub-Saharan Africa, South East Asia, and South America display the characteristics of the periphery.

The semi-periphery refers to the countries that are positioned between the core and the periphery. These are nations whose society is undergoing rapid industrialisation including the construction of infrastructure for information and knowledge-based economy. While the semi-peripheral countries usually have a competitive domestic market, their industry is still largely export-driven where labour-intensive manufacturing industry constitutes one of the major economic driving forces<sup>30</sup>. Additionally, the semi-peripheral nations also attempt to attract foreign direct investment mainly from the global core in order to facilitate their economic growth<sup>31</sup>. This means that moderate economic dependency to the core still exists. At the same time, the semi-periphery also establishes economic ties with the periphery which supplies relatively cheap raw materials to the manufacturing industry of the former<sup>32</sup>. This builds mutually interdependent relations between the two blocs. Generally, newly emerging states such as the Asian Tigers in the 1980s and the BRICS in 2010s can be categorised as the semi-periphery in the global economic structure.

South Korea has undergone a process of the compressed capitalist industrialisation from the one of the poorest in the 1950s to the one of the richest in the present time<sup>33</sup>. With reference to the world system theory, the country is now arguably located between the core and the semi-periphery. As one of the emerging economic powerhouses in the East Asia in the 1980s, South Korea exemplified a typical semi-peripheral country at that time<sup>34</sup>. Today, South Korea has become an even more important economic player whose main strength lies in information and high-tech industry. Still, the country shows the characteristics of an export-driven economy. Yet, it no longer entirely relies on exporting manufactured products. South Korea is now one of the leading developers of the information and communication technology which provides this East Asian country with the major leveraging forces in its

international trade<sup>35</sup>. In that sense, in economic terms, the nature of South Korean society is similar to that of the core countries. Nevertheless, South Korea is not yet fully recognised as the core advanced economy, and the reason being so is arguably the permeation of Western hegemony in the sphere of global culture.

With regard to global cultural politics, Collin's notion of zones of prestige provides a valuable theoretical tool for conceptualising the relation between the Western hegemony and the South Korean aspiration to join the global core. Zones of prestige can be defined as "multiple and singular centre where culturally impressive activities are produced, displayed and consumed"<sup>36</sup>. According to this theory, those countries whose cultural heritage and legacies significantly influence other nations can be seen as the established in the global power relations<sup>37</sup>. By contrast, those nations, the cultural products of which are not as much attractive and sought after as those in the established, are featured as outsiders<sup>38</sup>. Amongst these outsiders, some countries tend to emulate the cultural practice of the established with aspirations to obtain a more privileged cultural resource that the nations in the zones of prestige hold. Places, where this cultural imitation occurs, are called zones of emulation. Of course, it should be highlighted that the relations between zones of prestige and emulation are a clear reflection of existing cultural hegemony which presumes a specific cultural form, particularly Western culture, is somewhat superior, or at least more attractive, to that of the outsiders. Thus, this conceptual division is rightfully a subject to critical interpretation as it simply reinforces the concept of Western cultural imperialism. Nevertheless, a realistic snapshot of cultural politics today suggests that amongst others Western cultural products are the most widely circulated and most extensively consumed commodities<sup>39</sup>. Hence, it can be argued that the notions of the zones of prestige and emulation more or less objectively describe hegemonic cultural relations between different cultural zones in the world.

Some elements of sport are considered as the culturally impressive activities which help enhance the prestige of the nation. In the realm of cultural politics, sport becomes a useful resource simply because it constitutes significant part of in the contemporary popular culture industry<sup>40</sup>. Moreover, commodities associated with sports are globally circulated cultural currencies to which a desirable symbolic value is ascribed<sup>41</sup>. Additionally, sport products in some countries often turn into attractive cultural capital which can be strategically exploited for maximising the country's soft power<sup>42</sup>. Yet, sport as a cultural utility is not equally distributed in the world. Rather, almost every valuable asset in the global sport industry either mainly reflects sporting culture in the West or is largely owned by Western stakeholders. In other words, culturally important sporting capital has its roots in the zones of prestige. English Premier League, Major League Baseball, and Nike to name but a few exemplify and to these dominant forms of global sport commodities.

A global sports mega-event, especially the right to host it, is also one of the valuable resources in the global sport industry<sup>43</sup>. In fact, a major sporting spectacle works as a useful vehicle for reinforcing the privileged status of the established core state<sup>44</sup>. For the outsider states, a mega sporting event offers an opportunity to emulate the cultural and economic prowess of the established<sup>45</sup>. As explained in the previous section, the Winter Olympics functions as an important ritual which celebrates the cultural domination of the West. Also, it is also highlighted that the Winter Olympic Games is a party exclusively for the affluent Western countries. In this light, South Korea's willingness to host the Winter Olympic Games can be understood. This country is currently positioned in the zones of emulation and it has aspirations to be recognised as a global core. By staging this game for the global north, it appears that this semi-peripheral or semi-core country emulates the cultural practice of the West with the hope that a successful delivery of the event will assist South Korea to enter the

zones of prestige. In the following section, the relation between sports mega-events and cultural politics of South Korea will be discussed in more detail.

### **Sports mega-events in South Korea<sup>46</sup>**

To date, South Korea has hosted a diverse range of international sports competitions. Whenever they occurred, these sporting events had significant political implications for the host country<sup>47</sup>. A brief review of the historical development of cultural politics associated with sports mega-events in South Korea needs to be provided so as to understand a political mechanism linked to the 2018 Winter Olympic Games more accurately. While each competition unfolded separately, a pattern and continuity can be observed also concerning socio-political ramifications<sup>48</sup>. When examining the social and political history of the mega sporting events held in South Korea, three distinctive periods can be identified<sup>49</sup>. These are a Cold War period, a reconciliation period, and a cultural diplomacy period.

In the 1980s South Korea hosted two major international sport competitions: the 1986 Summer Asian Games and the 1988 Summer Olympic Games. South Korea planned to stage these events because of the two major reasons: 1) to display its remarkable economic development and modernisation to the world and 2) to secure an advantageous position in the ideological conflict with North Korea<sup>50</sup>. Firstly, it was the time when the country was seen as rising economic power. It should be noted that South Korea was one of the poorest in the 1950s. Yet, from the late 1960s its industry began to gather momentum, and in the 1980s South Korea became an emerging Asian economic centre. This fast-track transition from the peripheral nation to semi-peripheral country was so noticeable that this development was often featured as a miracle of the Han River<sup>51</sup>. The Asian Games and the Olympic Games in Seoul were certainly occasions through which South Korea celebrated its outstanding economic achievement within and showed off its economic strength to the international

audience<sup>52</sup>. In other words, by staging these two international sporting events this East Asian nation effectively directed a coming out party.

Internationally, the 1980s was the period when the Cold War political structure divided the world into three parts: the capitalist side, and the communist bloc, and the non-affiliated third world. As an ideologically partitioned nation, the tension between North and South Korea was particularly high during this period. In this circumstance, the two premier international sporting contests awarded to the South functioned as a useful instrument to highlight the superior quality of its economic and political system over that of the North<sup>53</sup>. At the same time, the world observed the mood of *détente* being developed in the late 1980s. In the midst of this changing world order, China and Soviet Union's satellite states intended to establish economic relations with South Korea given the growing importance of its industry<sup>54</sup>. Equally, building economic ties with these communist states, including China brought impactful political leverage to South Korea, especially its relations with North Korea. Under this changing world order, most communist countries decided to send their delegates to the Asian Games in 1986 and the Olympic Games in 1988<sup>55</sup>. In effect, these two sporting events lubricated the process of formal recognition between South Korea and the communist states the outcome of which subsequently led to the opening of their diplomatic and economic ties<sup>56</sup>.

In 2002, South Korea delivered the FIFA World Cup Finals and the Busan Asian Games. In these two events, reconciliation came to be a major theme. In addition, the reconstruction and re-imagination of Korean national identity were another important development occurring during and post mega-event settings. South Korea co-hosted the FIFA World Cup with Japan. Given these two nations made notorious East Asian old foes whose rivalry originated from the history of Japanese invasion and its colonial domination over Korea<sup>57</sup>, the amicable collaboration between the two nations had been hardly imaginable. Yet, the fact that Korea and Japan accepted the FIFA's offer to stage the major football

championship together to some extent signalled a gesture of mutual respect and understanding between them. It is certainly an exaggeration to claim that this cooperation between the two resolves sensitive issues around historical controversies and mistrust in Korea-Japan relations. Yet, it is equally difficult to dismiss some constructive changes to which this collaboration has given rise such as a visa waiver agreement and the promotion of cultural relations between South Korea and Japan.

The 2002 Busan Asian Games represents reconciliation between North and South Korea<sup>58</sup>. For the first time in its history, the North Korean delegates took part in an international sport competition held in South Korea. Also, almost three hundred North Korean cheerleaders crossed the border with the athletes. It marked the largest number of North Korean nationals landed on South Korean soil since the Korean War. South Korean people welcomed the visitors from the north and the friendly relations between the two Koreans lasted throughout the competition. In fact, since 1998, the South Korean government had implemented a policy of engagement in order to improve its relations with the northern siblings. The 2002 Asian Games epitomised this policy, symbolising the reconciliation between North and South Korea.

Another important issue concerning sport mega-events in the 2000s was the South Korean football team's unexpected success at the FIFA World Cup. In the history of international football, South Korea had always been an underdog. Yet, the team which had never won any single match at the World Cup Final managed to advance to the semi-finals in 2002, beating the top-notch Spaniards and Italians. Such a dramatic event unfolding on the home soil brought the feeling of pride and glory to the Korean people<sup>59</sup>. Because of this remarkable sporting success, the South Koreans experienced a new sense of an empowered nationhood<sup>60</sup>. Additionally, after the event the South Korean government and its media arm initiated a campaign for encouraging its citizens to have a more confident group mentality

such as a “Can-do spirit” and “Great Koreans”<sup>61</sup>. This nationalistic mood forged in South Korea mainly through football gradually led to the situation where the country began to consider hosting another symbolic event, the Winter Olympics, to show off the nation’s new cultural identity in the near future, and this development will be discussed further later in this article.

The 2014 Asian Games in Incheon and the 2018 Winter Olympic Games in Pyeongchang must be understood in relation to South Korean government’s cultural diplomacy programme. The most distinctive feature in this period is that South Korean cultural products such as films, TV shows and music have begun to dominate in the Asian entertainment industry<sup>62</sup>. Subsequently, the South Korean government has been strategically utilising these increasingly popular cultural commodities as part of its cultural relations<sup>63</sup>. As noted earlier, an economic factor alone is insufficient to transform its status from the semi-core to the core. Rather, it is culturally impressive and attractive activities that provide a nation with an international privilege. This implies that economic and cultural factors must be developed simultaneously so that a country in the zones of emulation lays a path to enter the zones of privilege. Arguably, for the Korean government, the 2014 Asian Games mainly functioned as a theatre that represented its growing cultural power<sup>64</sup>. For instance, a famous film director choreographed the opening and closing ceremonies of the Incheon Asian Games, and the appearance of Korean pop stars was the major attraction during these spectacular shows. In addition, a famous Korean actress was selected to be the final runner of the Asian Games torch relay who lit the cauldron. The performance of Korean pop artists can be seen as “culturally impressive” activities, and by harnessing this sought-after Korean show business during the Asian Games, South Korea attempted to affirm its cultural privilege in Asia.

The nature of the 2018 Pyeongchang Winter Olympic Games will not be dissimilar to the 2014 Asian Games apart from the fact that it will be a larger scale event, targeting the

global audiences. It is difficult to expect exactly how this premier winter sport festival will unfold because the commencement of this event is still two years away from the time of this writing. Nonetheless, it can be estimated that the Winter Olympic will be yet another occasion to show off its contemporary culture in an attempt to gain recognition as an emerging cultural powerhouse globally. As noted earlier, the Winter Olympics itself emanates a specific cultural meaning as a game for the global north. By winning the right to stage of such a value-laden event and an eventual delivery of the “white” Olympics, South Korea aims to accumulate a good amount of cultural capital which moves up its international status and reputation. For the Korean political elites, the Winter Olympics is perceived as an occasion that brings a global core position to their home nation. The relation between South Korean cultural politics and the Winter Olympics deserves a more comprehensive socio-historical analysis, and this is the topic with which the following section deals.

### **The Winter Olympic Games and South Korean cultural politics**

The Pyeongchang Winter Olympics, as a game for the affluent nations, may produce cultural capital that the South Korean government can harness to improve its standing. Now, it is appropriate to consider the reason why South Korea so much strives for acquiring a more prestigious status in international relations. Put simply, why is relocating its position to zones of cultural privilege so crucial for the country? Such a South Korean aspiration may be derived from a series of unfortunate historical events which severely interferes the sovereignty and political autonomy of the nation. The Korean Peninsula had been occupied by the Japanese imperialists from 1910 to 1945, and during this period Korean people suffered from highly exploitative and intensely brutal Japanese colonialism<sup>65</sup>. While there had been a fierce independent struggle by the nationalists, Korea was emancipated from Japan thanks primarily to the Japanese emperor’s unconditional surrender to the United States



at the end of the Second World War. And then the Korean Peninsula was divided into two by the United Nations' mandate, and the two Korean sides were under Washington's and Moscow's trusteeship against the Korean nationalists' willingness to establish a unified independent government. Shortly after this, as ideological tension between the North and the South sharply escalated, the Korean War broke out which almost devastated the entire nation. The three years of civil war only halted with an armistice in 1953. Here, the important fact is that the armistice was signed not between the two Koreas but between North Korea and the United Nations on behalf of South Korea. Since then the US army has been stationed in the South until today. While South Korea reclaimed its sovereignty after the Korean War, its defence heavily relied on American military power throughout the Cold War period. This military reliance, though less severe, still exists today. Under this circumstance, frequent American political interference in internal and foreign affairs of South Korea was almost inescapable.

This historical development indicates that the fate of South Korea was largely controlled and determined by external forces against internal actors' will power. This experience of political domination and intervention which seriously limited the autonomy the nation has left huge emotional scars on South Korean collective mentality. Subsequently, the reclamation of its full sovereignty and the liberation from foreign political dependency constitute major components of Korean nationalism. In recent years, the display of such nationalistic elements becomes more visible because the nation has gained more political confidence with its flourishing economy. Yet, South Korea's cultural prominence is not as much appreciated globally as its economic power, and as explained earlier, it is the realm of culture that the nation must foster in order to relocate its position to the zones of prestige. The South Korean devotion to secure a place in the circle of global cultural elites is, in fact, its struggle to overcome the memory of its unfortunate past. Hosting the Winter Olympic Games as a

cultural ritual that only an affluent few are able to afford to stage, therefore, is a symbolically significant political project to show South Korea's intention to join the global core.

With regard to the Winter Olympic Games more specifically, it should be noted that the South Korean government first conceived the idea of tendering for the right to host Winter Olympics in the early 2000s<sup>66</sup>. It was the time when the South Korean economy was booming after East Asian financial crisis in 1997, and when winter sport activities, particularly skinning and snowboarding were becoming increasingly popular<sup>67</sup>. It was also the time when Korean peoples observed the South Korean football teams' remarkable performance, defeating European football superpowers during the World Cup matches on home soil. This brought South Korean citizens to more confidence in expressing their national identity, and made them feel more proud of being a Korean<sup>68</sup>. At this juncture, having experienced the delivery of the two top-tier global sporting events which were the 1988 Summer Olympics and the 2002 FIFA World Cup finals, the government officials began to articulate the view that it is beneficial for the country to host the Winter Olympics, which is arguably the third largest sporting event with a unique cultural value as mentioned earlier. It seems that the political initiative to host a sports mega-event as a vehicle for promoting the merit and prowess of the nation resumed its operation. In 2011, the IOC declared that the South Korean region of Pyeongchang will host the 2018 Winter Olympic Games. In fact, the right to stage this winter sporting spectacle was awarded to Pyeongchang after the two unsuccessful bidding campaigns for the 2010 and 2014 Winter Olympics. This continuous effort to win the Winter Olympic bid is indicative of South Korean stubborn willingness to recover its pride.

In the South Korean Winter Olympic campaign, Yuna Kim, a South Korea female figure skater, played a crucial role. She won an Olympic gold in a female single at the 2010 Winter Olympics in Vancouver, and in the next edition in Sochi, Yuna Kim also gained a

silver medal. Given that figure skating was conventionally the West dominated event, and that it includes not only a sporting dimension but also artistic and musical elements, this specific sport displays a unique cultural aura as a symbol of Western elitism<sup>69</sup>. Hence, when she became an Olympic champion, the whole nation celebrated as if they overcame the collective mental block of Western dependency. Moreover, during the figure skating contest, the South Korean media highlighted a fierce sporting rivalry between Korean Yuna Kim and Japanese Asada Mao<sup>70</sup>. When the Korean defeated the Japanese, the media constructed the narrative of a post-colonial duel, featuring as if it was symbolic revenge on the former colonisers. This nationalistic representation offered Korean audiences additionally cathartic euphoria. Furthermore, the media also note that the body image of Yuna Kim was seen as a Westernised and an efficient sporting body which is distinctive from a somatic composition of an average Korean woman<sup>71</sup>. This body politics represents a nationalistic heroine who has enough strength and shows no fear in the competition against the Westerners at the global sporting stage. In that sense, Yuna Kim was an individual who symbolically eliminates the nation's collective psychological burdens, and who, as a result, embodies South Korea's aspirations to be recognised as a prominent and privileged state. Therefore, it is no surprise to see this sporting heroine acting as one of the core members of the 2018 Winter Olympic bidding team. Yuna Kim was also appointed as the Winter Olympic Ambassador after it secured the right to host the major event. Therefore, it can be argued that the figure skater encapsulates the South Korean desire to enhance its cultural prowess and prominence through being a host of the winter sport festival.

### **Critique: Is it true empowerment?**

Thus far, this paper clarifies 1) the cultural meaning of the Winter Olympics, 2) the South Korean ambition to become a cultural powerhouse with the reference to the world

system and the zones of prestige and emulation, and 3) social and historical background of South Korean desire to host sports mega-event, with particular attention to the 2018 Winter Olympic Games. While the instrumental use of the Winter Olympics by the Korean government as a vehicle for improving its status is an understandable strategy of cultural relations, this tactic also poses a number of problems. Firstly, the idea that South Korea attempts to enhance its reputation and to claim its privilege by hosting the Winter Olympic Games reveals the situation where Western cultural imperialism is deeply rooted in the cultural landscape of the Far East country. Basically, South Korea is the nation which belongs to an East Asian civilization zone to which the country has contributed distinctive cultural legacies. It is also the nation that has long cultural and historical tradition which provides Korean people with valuable resources to build its unique national identity. Nevertheless, South Korea has been making a devoted effort to emulate Western winter sporting practice which primarily sustains American and European cultural hegemony in order that the value of the contemporary Westernised South Korean culture is appreciated by the international audiences. This South Korean reliance upon the Western cultural products to improve its international standing is indicative of cultural imperialism at work which may gradually perish, or at least weaken, distinctive Korean elements in a global cultural spectrum<sup>72</sup>. It is paradoxical, therefore, that this non-white nation has a strong intention to display its cultural prowess by staging the “white” Olympics. Hence, it is not too illogical to anticipate that the Pyeongchang Winter Olympic Games is likely to be an event that simply reproduces the West-centric world view, actively endorsing Western cultural hegemony at the expense of a peculiar Korean historical legacy.

Secondly, it is problematic to find an orientalist mentality embedded in South Korean attitude towards cultural politics associated with the Winter Olympics. Put simply, Orientalism refers to a perspective to see the world on the presumption of the superiority of

the West<sup>73</sup>. It also postulates that none-Western others tend to be weak, irrational, and vulgar. Hence, this perception naturalises the proselytization of the Orient by introducing the cultural logic of the Occident. This orientalist sensitivity can be detected in the way in which the South Korean government strives for overcoming the country's mentality of subordination which is constructed through its unfortunate historical trajectory mentioned earlier. Of course, it is understandable that the country, whose fate has been largely determined by powerful neighbouring states in the previous century, aspires to foster more cultural power to enhance its status. However, the South Korean strategy to empower its position by hosting the Winter Olympics fundamentally assumes the notion that the more westernised its culture to be, the more powerful state it will become. It is no need to reiterate the fact that the winter sport contest is basically the party for white Western athletes. Concerning an Olympic champion Yuna Kim, this South Korea figure skater comes to be a national heroine largely because Kim symbolises a westernised female body which is physically fit and psychologically strong to fight against Western and colonialist competitors. This way of thinking implies that the principle of conventional Korean culture, however valuable, is not forceful enough to overcome its historical misfortune. Instead, it suggests that South Korean cultural capital can only be strengthened by actively adopting and subsequently internalising the cultural logic of the West. Hence, while South Korea may be able to earn a ticket to enter the zones of privilege by hosting the Winter Olympic Games, such a sense of enhancement can only be justified within the paradigm of Orientalism.

Thirdly, the Winter Olympic Games will be an event that appropriates an unreasonably large amount of the nation's natural and financial resources. This point may be less theoretical than the previous two arguments, but it is closely related to the notions of cultural imperialism and Orientalism. It should be noted that the Winter Olympic Games often involves the destruction of the natural environment to build winter sport facilities the

construction of which also requires a huge amount of public expenditure<sup>74</sup>. With regard to the Pyeongchang Winter Olympics, the Organising Committee has decided to bulldoze five-century-old primitive forests in order to make an Olympic standard ski slope even if it had a more sustainable option<sup>75</sup>. The Committee also has a plan to build a new stadium that only stage the opening and closing ceremonies during the Olympic Games in a small country town in the region of Pyeongchang whose population is no more than four thousand. Especially, this town is encircled by untouched mountains which include natural habitat for a diverse range of wildlife. Thus, building this large stadium in this small town inevitably disturbs the surrounding natural environment. These are only a few examples of controversial building projects directly related to the Olympic Games. The key rationale for constructing these new facilities can be found arguably in the host nation's willingness to impress the visitors mainly from the West. Because the major motivation for staging the Winter Olympic Games include, rather ironically, boasting about a Korean way of appreciating and representing Western culture, it is crucial to arrange best possible winter sport facilities for the fifteen days of the event. It appears that the Korean government is so much concerned with pleasing the guests largely from North America and Europe that it is justifiable, for this specific purpose, to scarify its own natural settings, which is also an important element of traditional Korean identity. Here again, Westernised contemporary Korean value prevails over a conventional component of Korean culture.

## **Conclusion**

The Winter Olympics is the game for the global north through which Western "white" cultural hegemony and privilege is continuously re-enacted. It is also a sporting contest that clearly distinguishes the division between the global haves and have-nots. In other words, the Winter Olympic Games engenders global cultural capital to be used for

making a distinction between the global established and outsiders. The winter sporting spectacle to be held in the South Korean region of Pyeongchang clearly mirrors South Korea's aspirations to be recognised as a member of the global core. Economically, the nation has already passed the stage of the semi-periphery industry, and is now considered as one of the leading economic powers<sup>76</sup>. Culturally, South Korea is still positioned in the zones of emulation with the strong ambition to promote its standing. By hosting the game for the global haves, South Korea attempts to make this its identity more visible on the map of cultural geography. In South Korea, the right to host this sports mega-event appears to be seen as a badge of honour and a ticket to enter the zones of privilege. In that sense, this edition of the Winter Olympic will be a highly political game.

However, it is paradoxical to see that this project of empowering cultural merit of South Korea may also entail weakening its unique cultural tradition. It should be noted that the level of empowerment will only be measurable by a Western cultural barometer. The idea that this East Asian nation tries to gain a more prestigious status through staging the Winter Olympic Games fundamentally means that the country relies on the instrumental use of Western cultural products. Therefore, in order that South Korea materialises its vision to be a cultural powerhouse more effectively, the Winter Olympics needs to be a show that mainly represent the image that imitates the mainstream Western cultural values. The more Western modernity (or post-modernity) South Korea displays at this winter sporting spectacle, the more privileged cultural capital the country is likely to accumulate. In this formula of South Korean cultural politics, there will be only a marginal place where a conventional Korean heritage stands. More problematically, this political and cultural project involves the scarification of the Korean natural landscape. This is the consequence of cultural imperialism embedded in the practice of the Winter Olympic Games and of the widespread Orientalism in Korean culture.

Some commentators<sup>77</sup> note that, given the South Korean region of Pyeongchang won the right to host the Winter Olympics only after the failure of the two previous Olympic bids, it is “third time lucky” for the Korean host. This paper does not completely dismiss a potential political opportunity that this premier winter sporting competition offers to the host city and the nation. Yet, while South Korea may be able to materialise the plan to upgrade its international standing, it should be noted that such an improvement is not without expenses. Basically, the Winter Olympic Games is the event that reinforces the inequality between the global core and periphery. This implies that in an attempt to attain a more privileged position, South Korea inevitably underpins the current political and economic structure which fortifies the gap between the global north and south. Moreover, it is anticipated that the Pyeongchang Winter Olympics will be a cultural spectacle which exhibits a Westernised, or proselytised, Korean identity to the international audiences. In so doing, a conventional Korean cultural legacy is likely to be marginalised. When balancing out all these features together, cultural and political values of the 2018 Winter Olympic Games will be more objectively calculated.

This anticipation may prove wrong because the opening of this winter sporting event is still more than a year away at the time of this writing. It is possible that the host can project its unique cultural value in harmony with the Western legacies of the Winter Olympics. Additionally, Pyeongchang’s “Dream Program” initiative, which aims to assist the development of winter sports in developing countries, can potentially make a valuable contribution to reducing the gap between the global north and south in the snow and ice sporting arenas. Nevertheless, given the nature of South Korean cultural politics which embraces a Western sense of (post) modernity without critical reflection, and given the characteristic of the international winter sport development programme which can be seen as a rather strategic cultural diplomatic tool to win the Winter Olympic bid, it is somewhat uncertain whether the Pyeongchang Olympic Games will leave genuine and sustainable



positive legacies. In this view, a more careful approach is necessitated before having an optimistic vision such as “third time lucky” because it is equally possible that the sporting occasion turns into the omen of bad luck. More importantly, unless this Western-centric political and economic structure is deconstructed which eventually leads to a paradigm shift in global sporting culture, the possibility to observe a more multicultural Winter Olympics for the global humanity is only few and far between.

---

<sup>1</sup> John Horne, ‘The Four ‘Knowns’ of Sports Mega-Events’, *Leisure Studies* 26, no. 1 (2007), 81-96; Jonathan Grix, (ed.), *Leveraging Mega-Event Legacies* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016); Andrew Smith, ‘Leveraging Sport Mega-Events: New Model or Convenient Justification?’, *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events* 6, no. 1 (2014), 15-30.

<sup>2</sup> Jonathan Grix and Paul M Brannagan, ‘Of Mechanisms and Myths: Conceptualising States’ “Soft Power” Strategies Through Sports Mega-Events’, *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 27, no. 2 (2016), 251-72.

<sup>3</sup> Jean Harvey et al., *Sport and Social Movements: From the Local to the Global* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

<sup>4</sup> Jung Woo Lee and Joseph Maguire, ‘Global Festivals through a National Prism: The Global and Local Nexus in South Korean Media Coverage of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games’, *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 44 (2009), 5-24.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph A. Maguire, ‘Power and Global Sport: Zones of Prestige, Emulation and Resistance’, *Sport in Society* 14, no. 7/8 (2011), 1010-26.

<sup>6</sup> John Hoerne, *Sport in Consumer Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2006).

<sup>7</sup> John Davis, *The Olympic Games Effect : How Sports Marketing Builds Strong Brands*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2012).

<sup>8</sup> Udo Merkel and Misuk Kim, ‘Third Time Lucky!? PyeongChang's Bid to Host the 2018 Winter Olympics–Politics, Policy and Practice’, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 28, no. 16 (2011), 2365-83.

<sup>9</sup> Dennis Coates, ‘Not So-Mega Events’, in Wolfgang Maenning and Andrew Zimbalist (eds.), *International Handbook on the Economics of Mega Sporting Events* (Cheltenham: Elgar, 2012), 401-33.

---

<sup>10</sup> C. Richard King, 'Staging the ~~Winter~~ White Olympics: Or, Why Sport Matters to White Power', *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 31, no. 1 (2007): 89-94.

<sup>11</sup> Paul Farhi, 'Where the Rich and Elite Meet to Compete', *The Washington Post*, 5 February 2006, B01.

<sup>12</sup> Reihan Salam, 'White Snow, Brown Rage: The Racial Case Against the Winter Olympics', *Slate*, 15 February 2006, [http://www.slate.com/articles/sports/fivering\\_circus/2006/02/white\\_snow\\_brown\\_rage.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/sports/fivering_circus/2006/02/white_snow_brown_rage.html) (accessed 14 June 2016).

<sup>13</sup> To find out the mechanism of racial identity politics and racial inequality at the Winter Olympic Games necessitates a systematic sociological investigation, and certainly it is an extremely important research subject. Yet, such a close examination is beyond the remit of this paper which is mainly concerned with the South Korean desire to host the Winter Olympic Games. For this specific research focus, it may be sufficient to provide a preliminary observation on the elements of white supremacy embedded in the practice of the Winter Olympics.

<sup>14</sup> Farhi, *Where the Rich and Elite Meet to Compete*.

<sup>15</sup> David J. Leonard, 'To the White Extreme in the Mainstream: Manhood and White Youth Culture in a Virtual Sports World, in Michael D Giardina and Michele K Donnelly (eds.), *Youth Culture and Sport: Identity, Power, Politics*, (New York: Routledge, 2008), 91-112; King, *Staging the ~~Winter~~ White Olympics*.

<sup>16</sup> Susan Brownell, 'The view from Greece: Questioning Eurocentrism in the history of the Olympic Games', *Journal of Sport History* 32, no. 2 (2005), 203-216; King, *Staging the ~~Winter~~ White Olympics*.

<sup>17</sup> Ellis Cashmore, *Making Sense of Sport*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010).

<sup>18</sup> Leonard, *To the White Extreme in the Mainstream*.

<sup>19</sup> Salam, *White Snow, Brown Rage*.

<sup>20</sup> It should be noted that the 1972 and 1998 Winter Olympic Games were held in the Japanese city of Sapporo and Nagano respectively. Yet, while it is geographically located in the Far East, Japan emerged as a modern advanced nation in the early twentieth century. In that sense, Japan had already joined this global rich club when it hosted the Winter Olympics.

<sup>21</sup> Farhi, *Where the Rich and Elite Meet to Compete*.

---

<sup>22</sup> Immanuel Wallerstein, *World-System Analysis: An Introduction*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004).

<sup>23</sup> Randall Collins, 'Civilizations as Zones of Prestige and Social Contact', *International Sociology* 16, no. 3 (2001), 421-437.

<sup>24</sup> Thomas R Shannon, *An Introduction to the World System Perspective*, 2nd. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996).

<sup>25</sup> Manuel Castells, *The Rise of Network Society*, 2nd. (Oxford: Willy-Blackwell, 2010).

<sup>26</sup> Jan A G M van Dijk, *The Deepening Divide: Inequality in the Information Society*. (London: Sage, 2005).

<sup>27</sup> Leslie Sklair, *Globalization: Capitalism and its alternatives*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

<sup>28</sup> Shannon, *An Introduction to the World System Perspective*.

<sup>29</sup> Peter Dicken, *Global Shift: Mapping the Changing Contour of the World Economy*. 6<sup>th</sup> ed. (London: Sage, 2010).

<sup>30</sup> Robin Cohen and Paul Kennedy, *Global sociology* 3rd. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2103)

<sup>31</sup> George Ritzer, *Globalization: A Basic Text* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010).

<sup>32</sup> Shannon, *An Introduction to the World System Perspective*.

<sup>33</sup> Kyung S Chang, *South Korea under Compressed Modernity: Familial Political Economy in Transition* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010).

<sup>34</sup> Wallerstein, *World-systems Analysis*.

<sup>35</sup> James F Larson and Jaemin Park, 'From Developmental to Network State: Government Restructuring and ICT-led Innovation in Korea', *Telecommunications Policy* 38, no. 4 (2014), 344-59.

<sup>36</sup> Maguire, *Power and global sport*, p. 1021.

---

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Mark Dyreson, 'The Republic of Consumption at the Olympic Games: Globalization, Americanization, and Californization', *Journal of Global History* 8, no. 2 (2013), 256-278.

<sup>40</sup> David L. Andrews, 'Sport in the late capitalist moment' in Trevor Slack (ed.), *The Commercialisation of Sport* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004), 2-28.

<sup>41</sup> Jung Woo Lee, 'The Meaning of Sport: Sociolinguistic Analysis of Sport and Energy Drink Brands' Advertising Messages', *International Journal of Sport Communication* 8, no. 2 (2015), 174-92.

<sup>42</sup> Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affair, 2004).

<sup>43</sup> Jonathan Grix and Barrie Houlihan, 'Sports Mega-Events as Part of a Nation's Soft Power Strategy: The Cases of Germany (2006) and the UK (2012)', *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 16 (2014), 572-96.

<sup>44</sup> Maguire, *Power and global sport*.

<sup>45</sup> Jonathan Grix and Donna Lee, 'Soft Power, Sports Mega-Events and Emerging States: The Lure of the Politics of Attraction', *Global Society* 27, no. 4 (2013), 521-36.

<sup>46</sup> For a more comprehensive review of political implications of sport mega events held in Korea, see Lee Jung Woo, 'The Politics of Sports Mega Events in South Korea: A Diachronic Approach', in Alan Bairner, John Kelly and Jung Woo Lee (eds), *Routledge handbook of sport and politics* (Abingdon: Routledge, forthcoming).

<sup>47</sup> Victor D Cha, *The Beyond the Final Score: The Politics of Sport in Asia*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).

<sup>48</sup> Jung Woo Lee, 'Do the scale and scope of the event matter? The Asian Games and the relations between North and South Korea', *Sport in Society*, forthcoming.

<sup>49</sup> Lee, *The Politics of Sports Mega Events in South Korea*.

<sup>50</sup> Cha, *The Beyond the Final Score*.

---

<sup>51</sup> Brian Bridges, 'The Seoul Olympics: Economic Miracle Meet the World', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 25, no. 14 (2008), 1939-52.

<sup>52</sup> Sandra Collins, 'East Asian Olympic Desires: Identity on the Global Stage in the 1964 Tokyo, 1988 Seoul and 2008 Beijing Games', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 28, no. 16 (2011), 2240-60.

<sup>53</sup> Lee, *The Politics of Sports Mega Events in South Korea*.

<sup>54</sup> Charlesk Armstrong, 'South Korea's 'northern policy'', *The Pacific Review* 3, no. 1 (1990), 35-45.

<sup>55</sup> Within the communist bloc, only North Korea and Cuba boycotted these events.

<sup>56</sup> Cha, *The Beyond the Final Score*.

<sup>57</sup> Gwang Ok and Kyoungcho Park, 'Cultural Evolution and Ideology in Korean Soccer: Sport and Nationalism', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 31, no. 3 (2014), 363-375.

<sup>58</sup> Lee, *Do the Scale and Scope Matter?*

<sup>59</sup> Rachael M Joo, *Transnational Sport: Gender, Media, and Global Korea* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012).

<sup>60</sup> Ibid

<sup>61</sup> Hyundai Research Institute, *Post World Cup ei Baljeon Jeonryak gwa Jungchack Gwajae [Post World Cup Developmental Strategy and Policy Implication]* (Seoul: Hyundai Research Institute , 2002).

<sup>62</sup> Woongjae Ryoo, 'Globalization, or the Logic of Cultural Hybridization: The Case of the Korean Wave', *Asian Journal of Communication* 19, no. 2 (2009), 137-151.

<sup>63</sup> Seung H Kwon and Joseph Kim. 'The Cultural Industry Policies of the Korean Government and the Korean Wave', *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 20, no. 4 (2014), 422-439.

<sup>64</sup> Lee, *The Politics of Sports Mega Events in South Korea*.

<sup>65</sup> Bruce Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History*. Updated. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2005)

---

<sup>66</sup> Merkel and Kim, *Third Time Lucky!?*

<sup>67</sup> KOLE. *Leisure Baekseo [White Paper on Leisure Industry]* (Seoul: KOLE, 2003).

<sup>68</sup> Joo, *Transnational Sport*.

<sup>69</sup> Jung Woo Lee, 'Yuna Kim in Television Advertising and Her Celebrityhood: Representation of a Nationalist Ideology and a Gender Identity', *Korean Journal of Sociology of Sport* 22, no. 3 (2009), 1-18.

<sup>70</sup> Hee Jin Seo and Ok Hyun Kim, 'Analysis of Media Frames in the Composition of "Yuna Kim VS Asada Mao" Appeared in the Korean Press', *The Korean Journal of Physical Education* 54, no. 3 (2015). 127-139.

<sup>71</sup> Jae. H. Hong. 'Kimyuna Sanghache biyul 1:2 shin-e-nae-rin monmae [A gift from God: the 2:1 ratio of Yuna Kim's body]', *Sports Donga*, 3 February 2014 (accessed 15 June 2016) <http://sports.donga.com/3/01/20140202/60528582/3>

<sup>72</sup> John Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism : A Critical Introduction* (London: Pinter Publishers, 1991).

<sup>73</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (Penguin: London, 1995).

<sup>74</sup> Helen J. Lenskyj, *Olympic Industry Resistance: Challenging Olympic Power and Propaganda* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008).

<sup>75</sup> Julian Cheyne, 'Destruction of Mount Gariwang forest for Pyeongchang2018 Winter Olympics', *GamesMonitor: Debunking Olympic myth*. 25 September 2014 <http://www.gamesmonitor.org.uk/node/2203> (accessed June 19 2016).

<sup>76</sup> Uk Heo and Terence Roehrig, *South Korea's Rise: Economic Development, Power and Foreign Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014)

<sup>77</sup> Merkel and Kim, *Third Time Lucky!?*; Jeremy Laurence, 'Olympics-third Bid is Pyeongchang's Best Yet, IOC Team Say', *Reuters*, 19 February 2011 <http://www.reuters.com/article/olympics-pyeongchang-idUSTOE71I00J20110219> (accessed June 14 2016); The Korea Herald, 'Third time lucky', *The Korea Herald*, 20 March 2010 <http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20090425000009> (accessed on June 14 2016)

---

